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Effects of applicant race and job type on selection decisions

Jocelyn P. DeGance
San Jose State University

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EFFECTS OF APPLICANT RACE AND JOB TYPE ON SELECTION DECISIONS

A Thesis Proposal

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Psychology

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In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Masters of Science

by

Jocelyn P. DeGance

San Jose State University

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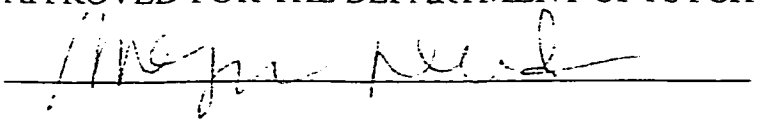

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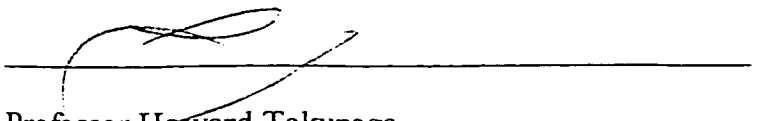

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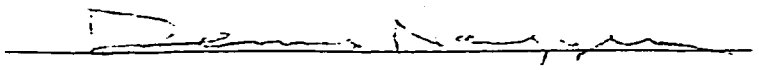

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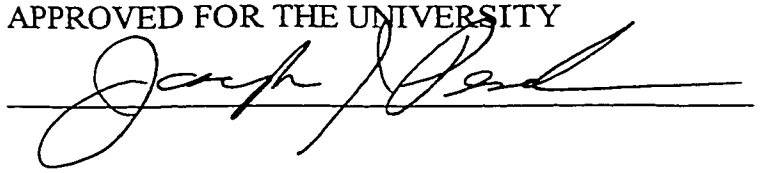

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Jocelyn P. DeGance

San Jose State University

Abstract

The present study investigated the effects of applicant race and job type on selection decisions. Using a 2 (race) X 2 (job type) between subjects design, participants evaluated the entry-level employment application of an Asian American (Wu Fong) or a White (Michael Brown) applying for either a stereotypically Asian American job (i.e., engineer) or a stereotypically White job (i.e., consultant). It was hypothesized that there would be an interaction effect between race of applicant and job type, such that 1: Asian Americans would be more likely to be (a) rated as suitable, (b) hired, and (c) receive a greater starting salary than would be Whites for a stereotypically Asian American job; and 2: Whites would be more likely to be (a) rated as suitable, (b) hired, and (c) receive a greater starting salary than would be Asian Americans for a stereotypically White job. Result did not support the hypotheses, and the implications of the findings are discussed.

Effects of Applicant Race and Job Type on Selection Decisions

Despite the ever-increasing numbers of minorities joining the American workforce, disparity in the selection, performance evaluation, promotion, and compensation of these individuals persist as compared to White men (Cheng, 1997; Cheng &Thatchenkery, 1997; Tang 1996). Thus, the considerable growth in minority representation has not yet been translated into an equivalent expansion of career opportunity and upward mobility for them (Heilman, 1983).

According to the Department of Labor Glass Ceiling Report (1995), the American labor force is still race segregated. Minorities are trapped into lower-wage, lower-prestige jobs that offer little career advancement. A survey of U.S. Fortune 1000 companies collaborates this government report: White men occupy 97% of top management positions (Korn/ Ferry International cited in U.S. Bureau of Census, 1995).

Even with the same educational and job qualifications, minorities are still paid less than Whites: White/ European American college graduates earn an additional income of $4,349 over their non-graduate counterparts, while Chinese Americans earn only an additional income of $1,936 over their non-graduate counterparts (Barringer, Takeuchi, & Xenos, 1990). This trend continues regardless of industry (Cheng, 1997); minorities do not realize the return on educational investment that Whites enjoy. For example, fields, such as the sciences and engineering, thought to be heavily Asian-dominated still pay Asian Americans 15% to 26% less than their White peers (Tang, 1993). "As a result of these employment-related problems, many women and racial minorities do not have

the opportunity to experience a satisfying career or display their talents and skills in organizations" (Hosoda & Stone, unpublished manuscript, p.3, 2000).

While organizational psychologists have accumulated a substantial body of evidence concerning race discrimination in employment-related decisions (e.g., selection, performance appraisal), empirical studies in this area have been largely limited to the comparison of only two groups, Blacks and Whites. Even gender studies reflect this same limitation, examining differences between White men and White women exclusively (Hosoda & Stone, unpublished manuscript, 2000; Landau, 1995; Smith & Stewart, 1983).

Given that organizational experiences often differ across racial/ethnic groups (Cox & Nkomo, 1990), research needs to extend beyond the comparison of only 'Blacks' and 'Whites' in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities of race discriminations in our society. Therefore, the present study was designed to investigate one of the most highly visible, yet grossly underrepresented (in terms of organizational roles associated with power or status) minorities in America today: Asian Americans.

Asian Americans represent the fastest-growing demographic segment in the United States, outpacing the rate of any other group. By the year 2010, the population of Asian Americans in the U.S. is predicted to increase from 9.4 million to 16 million (Fisher, 1994). However, despite the exponential growth, Asian Americans have received little research attention among organizational psychologists, and need to be treated as a distinct minority group in organizational literature (Cheng, 1997). According

to Cheng and Thatchenkery (1997), one reason for the lack of attention among researchers on Asian Americans is due to the perception of Model Minority; Asian Americans are too successful to warrant study. Some of the characteristics defining this 'positive' stereotype include: "intelligent, overachiever, nerdy, majoring in law or math or science... not having fun... speaking English poorly, or not at all...and an inability to communicate" (Cheng & Thatchenkery, 1997, p. 272).

This Model Minority Thesis on Asian Americans was originated by a sociologist, William Petersen, who observed that both the Japanese and the Chinese have achieved a high level of education and of median family income, and a low level of juvenile delinquency and of mental illness. The Model Minority Thesis was accepted widely among Whites. Soon thereafter, the Thesis was expanded to include all Asian groups and ethnicities, thus negating the existence of any cultural diversity represented by the over three billion Asians from multiple geographies, and dozens of countries (Cheng, 1997; Cheng & Thatchenkery, 1997).

The basic assertion of the Model Minority perspective is that Asian Americans are doing too well to be considered disadvantaged, citing such indices as their low rate of unemployment. However, strong cultural forces keep this rate artificially low. Asian Americans would rather save face and be underemployed than accept government assistance (Cheng, 1997). In fact, the poverty rate for Asian Americans in Los Angles, New York, and San Francisco, is twice that of their White counterparts (Ong, 1984).

Furthermore, the Model Minority label is also responsible for keeping Asians from becoming fully mainstreamed into American society. Instead of being seen as

simply 'successful Americans' the very existence of the label 'Model' serves to further peripheralize Asian Americans. (Cheng, 1997; Cheng & Thatchenkery, 1997). Ancheta (1960) supports this view stating that "Asian Americans often find themselves in racial limbo, marginalized or unrecognized as full participants...when discussed at all, Asian Americans are offered as a 'model minority' group to be contrasted with blacks and likened to whites...[representing] a curious and distorted form of racism, denying the existence of Asian American poverty and inequality" (p.12-13).

In the organizational setting, this Model Minority stereotype translates into the notion that Asians are docile, and subservient employees, taking whatever is offered to them without complaint (Cheng 1997). In effect, the consequence of the stereotype is likely to lead to exploitation rather than advancement of Asian Americans. For instance, Cheng (1997) found bias against Asians and Asian Americans when they competed against White/ European Americans for managerial positions. Assessors characterized the Asians as 'too feminine' to be effective managers. Selection for managerial promotion was defined by a highly Euro-centric, hegemonically masculine ideal that out-groups, such as Asians and women, often do not fit.

Moreover, despite having higher educational attainment than Whites, Asian Americans receive lower return on their educational investments (Bell, Harrison, & McLaughlin, 1997; Cheng 1997). Likewise, Tang (1997) also reported that Asian American male and female scientists are at a disadvantage with their White counterparts in competing for managerial jobs even in "Asian-concentrated" fields (i.e., engineering and natural sciences). Biases in performance appraisal and the use of informal

discrimination mechanisms having created structural and cultural barriers to minority upward mobility (Tang, 1997); "Asian American scientists and engineers as a group are under represented in management" (p. 293).

Research indicates the existence of a glass ceiling for Asian Americans (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1992). In spite of the overrepresentation of Asians in technical occupations, those numbers are not reflected in managerial positions (Tang, 1997): "Management posts usually entail more responsibility, more authority, and higher pay... Asian Americans have career paths quite distinct from their White peers" (Tang 1997, p. 293). Asian Americans trail Whites in upward mobility, and entry alone does not predict nor ensure similar chances of participation and advancement (Tang, 1997). Furthermore, Tang 1997 suggests that language proficiency (insufficient mastery of English, and its accent) and the "passive interpersonal style prominent in Asian culture" may put Asians/ Asian Americans at a distinct disadvantage (p. 311). Even in academia where one would expect an environment that would mitigate stereotyping, employment related inequities still exist: Asian American educators are less likely than White educators to hold tenure track, tenure, or full professor positions (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1992).

It is evident from the aforementioned studies and literature review that there is an organizational tendency to select, evaluate, promote, and compensate individuals based upon the stereotypes of the groups to which these individuals belong. However, what initially appears as the result of 'simple' racial labeling or stereotyping may in fact be driven by a more complex dynamic.

Theoretical Explainations for Race and Gender Bias

Heilman's (1983) lack of fit model may be useful in explaining race and gender bias in the organization; Heilman proposed that occupational bias "is not inevitable nor invariable but can be situationally influenced" (p.269); further, the extent to which the characteristics attributed to an applicant match (or mismatch) the perceived requirements associated with a particular job determine the likelihood of being selected or rejected.

Heilman (1983) developed the perceived lack of fit model to explain gender discrimination against women, but has maintained the relevancy of her model to any negatively stereotyped group. More specifically, according to the lack of fit model, "expectations about how successful or unsuccessful and individual will be when working at a particular job are determined by the fit between the perception of an individual's attributes and the perception of the job's requirement in terms of skills and abilities" (p.278-279).

Basically, the perception of a good fit leads to an expectation of success, and conversely, a poor fit would lead to an expectation of failure. Moreover, there are magnitude effects, meaning the greater incongruity between the two, the greater the likelihood of biased judgments and behaviors will be.

Two elements underlie this model: sex stereotypes and the sex stereotyping of jobs. Sex stereotypes describe men in terms of achievement-oriented traits (e.g., competent, active, competitive and strong). Conversely, women are described in terms of affiliation-oriented traits (e.g., tender, understanding, concerned with others) (Heilman 1983). The traits associated with genders are not only different, but they are

differentially desirable, and in American society, the masculine traits (achievement-oriented) are more highly valued than the feminine traits (affiliation-oriented) (Heilman 1983). The traditionally achievement-oriented, and economically rewarded, work setting only further exaggerates the differential desirability of these gender-ascribed traits (Heilman 1983).

Sex stereotyping of jobs "...has its origins in the traditional view that paid work—especially if it is important, demanding, and lucrative—is a man's domain" (Heilman 1983, p.276). High status jobs and organizational roles, like management, are thought to be reserved for men. Feldman-Summers and Kielser (1974) had participants indicate the success of several different professionals based on descriptions: in no instance was a woman rated as being more successful than a man. This study was unable to determine a single professional occupation in which women were thought to outperform men.

Heilman's theory basically posits that a person's attributes (e.g., gender, race) interact with job type to influence employment-related decisions. Expectations with regard to an individual's success or failure are influenced by the perceived fit, or lack there of, between that individual and job requirements (e.g., skill and ability). The perception of a good 'fit' leads to the expectation of the individual's job success, while the perception of a bad 'fit' leads to the expectation of the individual's failure. Moreover, the magnitude of a fit is thought to directly influence the degree of sex bias that results (Heilman, 1983).

In the organizational setting, such expectations have an effect on employment-

related decisions, including selection decisions. Therefore, a belief in a lack of fit between the individual and job requirements is likely to result in a rejection outcome. Research tends to support this argument. For example, Lee, Castella, and McCluney (1997) investigated the differences in the evaluation of male and female applicants. In accordance with the perceived lack of fit model, the participants rated the men higher than the women in the professionally oriented job (Personnel Analyst). Lee et al. (1997) found significant differences when the sex of the applicants was manipulated in determining qualifications, and personal characteristics. Male participants discounted the female applicants' qualifications for the job; these men perceived the female applicants as putting less energy into the job and as being more difficult to work with.

Heilman has asserted that her model could apply to groups other than gender: "while this...has focused on bias in the work world that arises from sex stereotypes, the model and the research findings presented have relevance for any negatively stereotyped group... assumptions of incompetence of unsuitability ...are not unique to women" (Heilman 1983, p.294).

Therefore, in applying the perceived lack of fit model to the present study, it could be expected that when an Asian American applies for a stereotypically White job, there would be a perceived poor fit between the individual and the perceived requirements of the job. Consequently, the probability of this individual being selected for the job is likely to be reduced. In contrast, when an Asian/ Asian American applies for a stereotypically Asian job, there would be a perceived good fit between the individual and the requirements of the job. Consequently, the probability of this

individual being selected for the job is likely to be increased. Therefore, the decision to hire is based upon a stereotype and not on the merit of the candidate, a situation which potentially creates discrimination, as well as reverse-discrimination, depending on candidate race and the job type.

Summary

The literature regarding race discrimination in the organizational setting supports the relative lack of career opportunity and upward mobility for minorities; inequalities are well documented in the selection, performance evaluation, promotion, and compensation of these individuals (i.e., Cheng, 1997; Cheng &Thatchenkery, 1997; Tang 1996), as are the myths and stereotypes (i.e., Model Minority) which surround minority members.

However, previous research has been limited by a myopic comparison between Blacks and Whites (Hosoda & Stone, unpublished manuscript, 2000, Landau, 1995; Smith & Stewart, 1993). The present study attempted to increase understanding of minority discrimination in our culture by broadening the focus of the previous research, and addressing the experience of one of America's fastest growing populations, Asians.

Using Heilman's (1983) perceived lack of fit model, the present study offers insight to the complexities of job discrimination by considering both the perceived characteristics of the individual as well as the requirements of a job to determine a goodness of fit. While this model originally addressed gender discrimination, Heilman asserted that the application could be expanded to include any negatively stereotyped group.

Therefore, based on Heilman's model, the following hypotheses are proposed:

Hypothesis 1. Asian Americans would be more likely to be (a) rated as suitable, (b) hired, and (c) receive a greater starting salary than would be Whites for a stereotypically Asian American job.

Hypothesis 2. Whites would be more likely to be (a) rated as suitable, (b) hired, and (c) receive a greater starting salary than would be Asian Americans for a stereotypically White job.

Methods

Overview

Using a 2 (race of applicant: Asian American vs. White) x 2 (job type: stereotypically Asian vs. stereotypically White) between-subjects design, the present study investigated the effects of the race of job applicants and job type on selection decisions.

Participants

A total of 101 college students at a large Northwestern University participated in the present study as part of a course requirement. Thirty-four percent of the total participants were men ($n = 34$). Twenty-nine percent of the participants were Whites ($n = 29$), 27% were Asian/ Asian Americans ($n = 27$), 8% were African Americans ($n = 8$), 7% were Pacific Islanders ($n = 7$), 1% was Middle Easterns ($n = 1$), 2% were East Indians ($n = 2$), and 8% of the respondents were of mixed ethnic or racial ancestry ($n = 8$).

Participants' ages ranged from 17 years to 50 years ($M = 22.06$, $SD = 6.56$). Participants' top two chosen fields of study were the humanities/social sciences, ($n = 45$) 44.60%, and the physical sciences/ technology ($n = 16$) 15.80%. Many participants'

majors were undeclared. At the time of data collection, of the total participants, 63% were employed (n = 63), 27% were unemployed (n = 27), and 10% were looking for employment (n = 10). Participants' work experience ranged from zero to thirty-two years (M = 2.12, SD =4.98), with 29% (n = 29) of participants having had some managerial experience. Furthermore, those with managerial experience had been in those positions for less than a year (M = 8.80 months, SD = 25.82).

Manipulations

Race of applicant. Race of applicant was manipulated by using a typical Asian male's name (Wu Fong) or a typical White male's name (Michael Brown). One half of the participants rated the Asian applicant, and the other half rated the White applicant. The application form contained the applicant's personal information: applicant name, home address, social security number, high school and college education, and an employment history.

Job type. In order to vary job type, two jobs were created that differed in terms of racial stereotyping. One job was designed to be a stereotypically Asian job, but not a stereotypically White job. The other job was designed to be a stereotypically White job, but not a stereotypically Asian job. Half of the participants received an application form to fill a position for a stereotypically Asian-male job (i.e., engineering). The other half received an application form for a stereotypically White-male job (i.e., consulting).

Pilot Study:

In order to determine the racial stereotyping of jobs, a pilot study, with 44 graduate and undergraduate students from the same Northwestern University, was

conducted. Jobs were also measured in terms of perceived level of status, which was defined as the 'prestige, power, income, and social standing' associated with an entry-level position of a particular occupation.

A list of 22 jobs was generated by the experimenter, as well as consulting subject matter experts, interviewing with peers, or empirical evidence (e.g., Cheng, 1996; Cheng & Thatchenkery, 1997; Taylor & Stern, 1997) on job stereotyping. The experimenter asked participants to judge, using a 3-point Likert scale (1- Asian, 2- Neither more likely Asian or White, or 3- White), whether they believed that each job was stereotypically Asian, stereotypically White, or neither. Respondents were informed that the experimenter was interested in the society's occupational stereotypes rather than their own occupational stereotypes.

Furthermore, participants were asked to rate the perceived status of each job, using a 7 point Likert scale, 1 (lowest status) - 7 (highest status). Measuring for perceived status was to ensure that hiring for either job was equally likely given the hypothetical applicant's educational and work background.

The jobs that the participants rated were: *engineer, civil engineer, stockbroker, financial consultant, investment consultant, accountant, medical assistant, automobile salesperson, lab technician, business person, research assistant, computer programmer, software engineer, assistant manager, math teacher, financial analyst, sales representative, pharmaceutical sales representative, computer sales representative, manager, professor, and consultant.*

Analysis of variances (ANOVAs) were conducted to determine a pair of jobs that

were different in terms of racial stereotype, but similar to perceived status. Of the aforementioned occupations, engineering and consulting jobs met the criterion. There was no statistically significance effect of job type for perceived status: the perceived status of the consulting job, ($\underline{M}$ = 5.25, $\underline{SD}$ = .72) did not differ from that of the engineering job ($\underline{M}$ = 4.89, $\underline{SD}$ = 1.02), $F(1, 42) = 1.125$, $p > .05$. However, these jobs differed significantly on racial stereotyping: the engineering job ($\underline{M}$ = 1.45, $\underline{SD}$ = 0.70) was perceived more as a stereotypically Asian job, while the consulting job ($\underline{M}$= 2.68, $\underline{SD}$ = 0.52) was perceived more as a stereotypically White job, $F(1,42) = 4.812$ $p < .05$. Therefore, engineering was selected as the stereotypically Asian job, but not the stereotypically White job. Likewise, consulting was selected as the stereotypically White job, but not the stereotypically Asian job.

The job descriptions for these two jobs were based upon the core knowledge and skill descriptions of the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (1998). Descriptions were modified to reflect a typical entry-level job expectation.

The job description for the entry level engineering position read: "Assist senior engineers in developing new products and quality control of the existing products. Responsibilities include research in design, process evaluation, and analysis. Proficiency in using computer simulation to design and test how a product operates is required."

The job description for the entry-level consulting position was: "Assist senior consultants in analyzing and suggesting solutions to management problems. Responsibilities include collecting, reviewing, analyzing information, and making recommendations to the senior consultants for implementation. Proficiency in

communication and interpersonal skills a must."

Measures

Suitability ratings. Job suitability was measured with 10 items. Sample items are: "I feel this person is suited for the job" and "I believe this applicant will receive a promotion during his first 6 months on this job." Participants responded to these items using a 7-point Likert-type scale, 1 (strongly disagree) -7 (strongly agree). The higher the score on this measure, the more suitable the applicant was perceived.

These items were then subjected to exploratory factor analysis. Two factors emerged and explained 58.6% of the total variance. An examination of each factor led to the following suitability dimensions qualification and productivity. Qualification was defined as the skills and abilities necessary to be successful at the job, and accounted for 47.8% of the total variance. Items included "This applicant has the skills and abilities to perform the job", and "I feel this person is qualified for the job". The second factor, productivity, was defined as the skills and abilities necessary to be productive at the job, and accounted for 10.8% of the total variance. Items included "I believe this person would produce a minimal amount of work"(Reverse scored), and "I believe this person would produce a high quality of work".

An internal consistency estimate of reliability was computed for each dimension. Cronbach's coeffiecient alphas were .85 for the qualification and .70 for productivity dimensions (see Table 1 for factor loadings of each item).

Job-related personality attributes. A 22-item scale was developed to measure the perceived job-related personality attributes of the applicants. Sample items are: "I feel

this person would be a conscientious worker" and "I feel this person has the potential to become a leader." Participants responded to these items using a 7-point Likert-type scale, 1 (strongly disagree) -7 (strongly agree). The higher the scores on this measure, the more positively the applicants were perceived in terms of job-related personal attributes.

These items were also subjected to exploratory factor analysis. Three factors emerged and explained 57.6% of the total variance. An examination of each factor led to the following personality dimensions: 1) conscientiousness, which was defined by the survey items as 'reliable', 'dependable', and 'organized', accounted for 43.5% of the total variance; 2) competent, which was defined by the survey items as 'capable' and 'self-sufficient', accounted for 7.4% of the total variance; and 3) likability, which was defined by the survey items in terms of preference to work with the applicant, accounted for 6.7% of the total variance. An internal consistency estimate of reliability was computed for each dimension. Cronbach's alphas were .91 for conscientiousness, .86 for competent, and .79 for likability (see Table 2 for factor loadings of each item).

Hiring decision. Intent to hire was measured using a 7-point Likert-type scale, 1 (strongly disagree) -7 (strongly agree): "This applicant will be hired for this job". The higher the scores on this measure, the more likely the participant was to recommend the applicant for the job.

Salary assignment. Initial salary assignment was measured by using eleven close-ended salary ranges, all at intervals of $4,000. Salaries started from $15,000 and ended at $65,000+. Participants were asked to place a check mark by the salary range that they would offer to the applicant.

Demographic information. Participants were asked their own race, gender, age, major, continent of birth, number of generations in the U.S.. Participants were also asked their employment status at the time of the study, the length of work experience, job title, and length (if any) of managerial experience.

Procedure

Experimental sessions were run with participants in groups that ranged in size from one to seven. At the beginning of each experimental session, the experimenter administered consent forms and instructions for the questionnaire, both written and verbal, to the participants, and informed them that the purpose of the present study was to examine employment-related decisions. All consent forms were collected from the participants, indicating the participants' understanding and compliance with the study. The experimenter then told them that they would be asked to read information about a hypothetical job application, rate the applicant on suitability for the job, make a hiring recommendation, and determine an initial salary level.

Participants were then provided with materials that contained a job description, an employment application form, and a questionnaire. Participants were asked to review the job description and the application, and rate the applicant using the personality traits and employee suitability questionnaire. Participants were also given and asked to complete a demographic questionnaire. Once the session was completed, participants were provided with a written and oral debriefing. In addition, the written debriefing cited a relevant research article from Taylor and Stern (1997) which discussed the "model minority" portrayal of Asian-Americans in television advertising.

Results

Manipulation Check

Race of applicant. Participants were asked to indicate the race and ethnicity of their hypothetical applicant in the following format: 1) What is the race of this job applicant (close-ended, check box: Caucasian, Asian, or Latino); 2) What is the ethnicity of this job applicant (open-ended fill in the blank).

Results of the manipulation check indicated that participants seemed to have a difficulty correctly identifying the race of applicants. For the White applicant condition, 62 % (n=31) of participants correctly identified the target's race, 26% (n = 13) incorrectly identified the target's race as Latino or Asian, and 12% (n = 6) did not respond. For the Asian applicant condition, 90 % (n = 45) of participants correctly identified the target's race, 8% (n=4) incorrectly identified the target's race as Latin or White, and 4% (n = 2) did not respond.

Furthermore, participants experienced even greater difficulty in identifying the ethnicity of the target: For the White applicant condition, 50 % (n = 25) of participants correctly identified the target's ethnicity, 32% (n = 16) incorrectly identified the target's ethnicity, and 18% (n = 9) did not respond. For the Asian applicant condition, 70 % (n=35) of participants correctly identified the target's ethnicity, 24% (n = 12) incorrectly identified the target's ethnicity, and 8% (n = 4) did not respond.

Overall, across the two conditions, only 76% (n = 76) of participants correctly identified the target's race, with 60% (n = 60) of participants correctly identifying the target's ethnicity; 17% (n = 17) incorrectly identified the target's race, with 28% (n = 28)

incorrectly identifying the target's ethnicity; 8% (n = 8) did not respond to the race identification question, with 13% (n = 13) not responding to the ethnicity identification question.

In this latter category of non-response, many participants communicated via written statements that they believed the question to have racial implications and inherent biases which resulted in their refusal to answer. Examples from respondents included: "Can't judge by surname, it would be bias to assume Caucasian" and "Can't tell, could be any of the following [i.e. White, Asian or Latino]". Therefore, the reticence and low response rates of participants in answering race and ethnicity identification questions contributed to the relative lack of success of the manipulation check: were participants protesting the appropriateness of the questions, or were they simply unable to make the correct identifications.

Tests of Hypotheses

The hypotheses were tested with a Type 1 error rate of .05. In order to examine if the sex of participants influenced the variables of interest, all of the hypotheses were tested using "race of applicant", "job type", and "gender" as independent variables. When there was no main or interaction effect associated with the gender of respondents, the data were collapsed, and only a 2 (race of applicant) x 2(job type) ANOVA was conducted. As will be mentioned later, a main effect for gender was found only for the variable "salary assignment". Therefore, all of the other variables of interest were analyzed by a 2 x 2 ANOVA.

Although two separate hypotheses were proposed, they are closely related. Both

hypotheses anticipated a significant interaction effect for race and job type. Therefore, these two hypotheses were evaluated together.

Hypothesis 1, which described the expected advantages of an Asian applicant, versus a White applicant, applying for an Asian job, stated that Asian Americans would be more likely to be (a) rated as suitable, (b) hired, and (c) receive a greater starting salary than would be Whites for a stereotypically Asian American job. While Hypothesis 2, which described the expected advantages of a White applicant, versus an Asian applicant, applying for a White job, stated that Whites would be more likely to be (a) rated as suitable, (b) hired, and (c) receive a greater starting salary than would be Asian Americans for a stereotypically White job.

Suitability ratings.

Hypotheses 1a and 2a stated that Asian Americans would be rated more suitable for a stereotypically Asian job and that Whites would be rated more suitable for a stereotypically White job, respectively. Suitability was measured in terms of Qualification and Productivity. These hypotheses were not supported. An interaction effect was not statistically significant for Qualification, $F(1, 97) = .002$, $p > .05$, or Productivity, $F(1, 97) = .998$, $p > .05$.

More specifically, Asians were not perceived as more qualified ($M = 4.63$, $SD = 1.02$) or productive ($M = 5.06$, $SD = .92$) than were Whites ($M = 4.55$, $SD = 1.11$; $M = 4.92$, $SD = 1.00$, respectively) for the stereotypically Asian job. Likewise, White men were not perceived as more qualified ($M = 4.73$, $SD = 1.17$) or productive ($M = 4.96$, $SD = 1.15$) than were Asians ($M = 4.78$, $SD = 1.06$; $M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.05$, respectively) for

the stereotypic White job. Tables 3 and 4 present descriptives and ANOVA Summary for Productivity and Qualification, respectively. However a closer look at Table 4 (Productivity) indicates that a pattern of the means is consistent with the hypothesis (Whites rated higher on White job, Asians rated higher on Asian job).

Hiring decision.

Hypotheses 1b and 2b stated that Asian Americans would be more recommended to be hired for a stereotypically Asian job and that Whites would be more recommended to be hired for a stereotypically White job, respectively. These hypotheses were not supported. An interaction effect was not statistically significant, $F(1, 96) = 1.84$, $p>.05$. More specifically, Asians were not more recommended to be hired ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 4.03$) than were Whites ($M = 5.04$, $SD = 1.14$) for the stereotypically Asian job. Likewise, Whites were not more recommended to be hired ($M = 4.88$, $SD = 1.36$) than were Asians ($M = 4.92$, $SD = 1.47$) for the stereotypically White job. Table 5 presents descriptives and ANOVA summary.

Salary assignments.

Hypotheses 1c and 2c stated that Asian Americans would be more likely to receive a greater starting salary for a stereotypically Asian job and that Whites would be more likely to receive a greater starting salary for a stereotypically White job. These hypotheses were not supported. An interaction effect was not statistically significant, $F(1, 92) = .028$, $p>.05$. More specifically, Asians were not more likely to receive a greater starting salary ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 2.72$) than were Whites ($M = 4.52$, $SD = 2.43$) for the stereotypically Asian job. Likewise, Whites were not more likely to receive a greater

starting salary (M = 3.63, SD = 2.45) than were Asians (M = 3.84, SD = 2.87) for the stereotypically White job. Table 6 presents descriptives and ANOVA summary.

As mentioned earlier, there was a main effect for the gender of participants on the salary assignment decision, $F(1, 92)= 4.92$, $p.<.05$. Men assigned higher starting salaries (M = 5.09, SD = 1.33) than did women (M =4.43, SD = 2.73). More specifically, the men offered the job applicant at a range of $35,000-$39,000, while the women offered a more conservative $30,000- $34,000 range. Table 6 presents descriptives.

A closer look at the Table 6 shows that the pattern of means is consistent with the hypothesis for men, but the opposite for women. Women assigned a higher starting salary to Whites applying for the Asian job, as well as assigning a higher starting salary to Asians applying for the White job.

Job-related Personality Traits.

Although the researcher did not have a prior hypothesis, she analyzed the effects of applicants and job type on serveral job-related personality traits: Conscientiousness, Competence, and Likability.

Conscientiousness. There was only a main effect for job type, $F (1, 97) = 4.78$, $p<.05$. This result indicates that a person who performs a White (i.e., consulting) job may be seen as more conscientious (M = 5.20 SD = .86) than a person who does an Asian (i.e., engineering) job (M = 4.94 SD = .81). See Table 7 for descriptives and ANOVA summary.

Competence. There was a marginal main effect for race, $F (1, 97) = 3.418$, $p=.068$. This result indicates a tendency for Whites to be seen as more competent workers

($\underline{M}$ = 5.10 $\underline{SD}$ = .86) than are Asians ($\underline{M}$ = 4.76 $\underline{SD}$ = .68). See Table 8 for descriptives and ANOVA summary.

Likeability. No statistically significant effect was found on this variable. See Table 9 for descriptives and ANOVA summary.

Discussion

While researchers have extensively examined job-related discrimination against racial/ethnic minorities (i.e., Barringer, Takeuchi, & Xenos, 1990; Korn/Ferry International cited in U.S. Bureau of Census, 1995; Tang, 1993), the majority of this research has focused on comparison between Blacks and Whites (Hosoda & Stone, unpublished manuscript, 2000; Landau, 1995; Smith & Stewart, 1983). The limitation in such a simplistic focus is the lack of generalizability to the complex dynamics at work in the United States' multi-cultural landscape.

Minorities' organizational experiences are differentially determined by their racial/ethnic group membership (Cox & Nkomo, 1990), but by relying solely upon previous research, the 'minority experience' is in danger of being primarily defined one-dimensionally (i.e., the 'Black' experience). Therefore, as minority populations continue to expand, it becomes increasingly imperative to gain understanding and to distinguish between racially motivated discriminations. These minority individuals represent unique cultures and ethnicities, and researchers must view them in such light.

The present study, therefore, was designed to expand the current research by examining discrimination of one of the most visible, yet least vocal minority groups in the United States, Asian Americans. Given the lack of empirical research focusing on

Asian Americans, and the exponential growth of this group, the researcher sought to more broadly examine job-related stereotyping, through the specific exploration of the Asian / Asian American organizational experience.

By addressing the existence of discriminations even against the "Model Minority" (i.e., Asian Americans), the pervasiveness of the disparate treatment in organizational selection, performance evaluation, promotion, and compensation can be noted; all people of color, even its "Model" citizens, are still subject to the impediments and obstacles resulting from out-group status throughout the lifecycle of their careers: even after organizational entry is secured, minority members still continue to experience bias as they attempt advance within an organization (Stone et al., 1992). Thus, racial labels and stereotypes, even those considered positive, still serve to enforce of barriers to full equality (Cheng, 1997; Cheng & Thatchenkery, 1997).

In the present study, Heilman's perceived lack of fit model was used as the basis of the outcome expectation of the study's hypotheses; it was expected that an interaction effect would be found for applicant race and job type. However, the results of the present study did not support the model. Specifically, neither Asian Americans nor Whites were more likely than the other to be rated as suitable, hired, or receive a greater starting salary, regardless of the stereotypicality of job type.

Whites were not more likely to receive greater salary for the consulting job than were the Asians, nor were Whites offered lower salary when applying for engineering job. Asians were not more likely to receive greater salary for the consulting job than were the Whites, nor were Asians offered lower salary when applying for consulting job.

The lack of support for the hypotheses in the present study may due to a number of reasons: First, research on race and gender is often subject to social desirability response biases or participant impression management effects (Stone et al., 1992). The present study was probably overly obtrusive in its nature, as illustrated by participants' write-in responses which stated the inappropriateness of identifying the race and ethnicity of the hypothetical applicant.

Second, the participants were not directly questioned regarding their beliefs on the ethics of racism; nonetheless, they created a way to communicate their disdain of it. In fact, participants went out of their way to express themselves, scribbling notes to the researcher in the margins, going above and beyond the action required by the researcher. Perhaps, this level of activity itself demonstrates the magnitude of feeling connoted by the task of racial and ethnic labeling. Participants' unwillingness to designate along racial lines might have influenced the results of the study. If the participants' fear of being labeled as a racist reached acute enough levels during the study, self-monitoring of thoughts or behavior would have been triggered, thus significantly effecting the results.

Third, the lack of support for the hypotheses might be due to the failure of the manipulation of the race of the applicant. As demonstrated by the results of the manipulation check, participants had great difficulty in identifying the race or ethnicity of the applicants. If a picture of the applicant had been attached to the survey, the results produced may have been consistent with the expectations of the research hypotheses.

Fourth, the lack of support for the hypotheses may also be interpreted in a different and more positive light: since no effect was found, it could be that the

population tested is part of a new generation of Americans that value diversity and are less judgmental than previous generations. Just as the turn of the century brought throngs European immigrants to the U.S. who then impacted, challenged, and ultimately evolved American society to its current state, this next wave of immigrants has the potential to create a truly global culture, through the unification of the values and beliefs of the East and the West. However, this interpretation is purely speculative.

Thus, the heterogeneity of the student population at a school such San Jose State University, reflects the population changes that are occurring at the macro-level throughout the United States: in just 10 years, the population of Asian Americans in the U.S. will increase over 70% (Fisher, 1994). Furthermore, there is support for this interpretation at the micro-level: of the 101 participants in the present study, almost half (47) reported U.S. residence of two generations or less, and of those respondents, 55% (26) reported themselves to be first generation. It is plausible, therefore, that the rapid cultural infusion undergone by San Jose State University might have contributed to the mitigation of stereotypes, and the appreciation for cultural diversity.

Although there was not support for the hypotheses, there was a significant, however, unexpected result. Data reveled that the gender of participants influenced salary decisions. ANOVA demonstrated a significant effect of gender on salary assignment. More specifically, male participants offered the applicants a higher starting salary than did the female participants. The men offered the job applicant a starting salary between $35,000-$39,000, while the women offered a more conservative $30,000- $34,000.

Regardless of the applicant's race, the male participants' assigned higher salaries

to the applicants as compared to female participants. A possible explanation of this finding is that men have different salary expectations than women; men may simply have higher expectations for salary.

Conclusion

The study might also be limited by its lack of generalizability to real work settings; the study had college students attempting to make decisions that trained Human Resource professionals would be responsible for making. The inconsistencies between the previous research and this study may be due to the differences between these two populations.

Future research should address these confounds. It should also expand on the proposed hypothesis derived from Heilman's Lack of Fit model by increasing the scope to include other races in addition to Whites and Asians. Future studies should also expand the job type categories beyond consulting and engineering.

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Table 1

Results of Factor Analysis on Suitability

Description	Qualification	Productivity
This applicant has the necessary skills and ability to perform the job.	**.63**	.50
I feel this person is suited for the job.	**.71**	.43
The chances of this person being successful on the job are low (R).	**.51**	.38
I believe this applicant will receive a promotion during his first 6 months on this job.	**.66**	.01
I feel this person is qualified for the job.	**.76**	.34
Based on the data in the employment application, I do not feel this person's knowledge, skills, and abilities match the job requirement (R).	**.67**	.12
I believe this person would be successful on the job.	**.64**	.55
I believe this person would produce a minimal amount of work (R).	.20	**.66**
I feel this person would have a high level of motivation on this job.	.00	**.80**
I feel this person would produce high quality work.	.37	**.75**

Table 2

Results of Factor Analysis on Job-Related Personality Traits

Description	Conscientiousness	Competent	Likability
I feel this person would be a trustworthy worker.	**.57**	.45	.24
I feel this person would be a hard worker.	**.74**	.47	.00
I feel this person would be an organized worker.	**.72**	.30	.01
I feel this person would be able to effectively. work with others.	**.62**	.01	.37
I feel this person would be a persistent worker.	**.65**	.24	.21
I feel this person would be a likeable worker.	**.69**	.01	.32
I feel this person would be a dependable worker.	**.77**	.28	.23
I feel this person would be a reliable worker.	**.67**	.41	.34
I believe this person has the potential to become an effective supervisor.	**.45**	.30	.37
I feel this person would be a punctual worker.	.01	**.74**	.18
I feel this person would be a competent worker.	.25	**.77**	.11
I feel this person would be a responsible worker.	.49	**.68**	.11
I believe this person would get along with co-workers.	01	**.51**	.49
I feel this person is an intelligent person.	.44	**.52**	.21
I feel this person would be a self-sufficient worker.	.35	**.59**	.25
I feel this person would be a capable worker.	.43	**.64**	.24
I feel this person is an energetic person.	.01	.00	**.58**
I feel this person would be a conscientious worker.	.37	.12	**.56**
I would prefer this person as a co-worker.	.00	.28	**.76**

Table 2, continued

Results of Factor Analysis on Job-Related Personality Traits

Description	Conscientiousness	Competent	Likability
I believe other workers would be willing to work with this person.	.14	.30	**.71**
I feel this person would be a cooperative worker.	.38	.23	**.74**
I feel this person has the potential to become a leader.	.37	.00	**.58**

Table 3

Mean Qualification Ratings as a Function of Race of Applicant and Job Type

Job Type	Race of Applicant	
	White	Asian American
Stereotypically White	4.73 (1.17) (n=25)	4.78 (1.06) (n=25)
Stereotypically Asian	4.55 (1.11) (n=25)	4.63 (1.02) (n=26)

Note. Numbers in a parenthesis is standard deviation.

ANOVA Summary Table

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Race of Applicant (Race)	.01	1	.01	1.01
Job Type (Job)	.70	1	.70	1.59
Race x Job	.00	1	.00	1.84
Error	115.01	97	1.19	

Table 4

Mean Productivity Ratings as a Function of Race of Applicant and Job Type

Job Type	Race of Applicant	
	White	Asian American
Stereotypically White	4.96 (1.15) (n=25)	4.69 (1.05) (n=25)
Stereotypically Asian	4.92 (1.00) (n=25)	5.06 (.92) (n=26)

Note. Numbers in a parenthesis is standard deviation.

ANOVA Summary Table

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Race of Applicant (Race)	.01	1	.01	.09
Job Type (Job)	.69	1	.69	.65
Race x Job	1.07	1	1.07	1.00
Error	103.45	97	1.07	

Table 5

Mean Hiring Decision Ratings as a Function of Race of Applicant and Job Type

Job Type	Race of Applicant	
	White	Asian American
Stereotypically White	4.88 (1.36) (n=25)	5.04 (1.14) (n=25)
Stereotypically Asian	4.92 (1.47) (n=25)	3.81 (4.03) (n=26)

Note. Numbers in a parenthesis is standard deviation.

ANOVA Summary Table

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Race of Applicant (Race)	5.60	1	5.60	1.01
Job Type (Job)	8.80	1	8.80	1.59
Race x Job	10.19	1	10.19	1.84
Error	531.46	96	5.54	

Table 6

Mean Salary Ratings as a Function of Race of Applicant and Job Type

Gender	Job Type	Race of Applicant	
		White	Asian American
Male			
	Stereotypically White	4.57 (1.51) (n=7)	4.10 (2.96) (n=10)
	Stereotypically Asian	5.27 (2.28) (n=11)	5.33 (.82) (n=6)
Female			
	Stereotypically White	3.24 (2.68) (n=24)	3.67 (2.89) (n=15)
	Stereotypically Asian	3.93 (2.46) (n=14)	3.45 (2.95) (n=20)
Total			
	Stereotypically White	3.63 (2.45) (n=24)	4.52 (2.43) (n=25)
	Stereotypically Asian	3.84 (2.87) (n=25)	3.88 (2.72) (n=26)

Table 6, continued

ANOVA Summary Table

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Race of Applicant (Race)	7.78	1	7.78	1.15
Job Type (Job)	.28	1	.28	.04
Gender	33.41	1	33.41	4.92*
Race x Job	.19	1	.19	.03
Race x Gender	2.84	1	2.84	.42
Job x Gender	.18	1	.18	.03
Race x Job x Gender	2.78	1	2.78	.41
Error	624.40	92	6.79	

Table 7

Mean Conscientiousness Ratings as a Function of Race of Applicant and Job Type

Job Type	Race of Applicant	
	White	Asian American
Stereotypically White	5.20 (.86) (n=25)	5.12 (.64) (n=25)
Stereotypically Asian	4.70 (.76) (n=25)	4.94 (.81) (n=26)

Note. Numbers in a parenthesis is standard deviation.

ANOVA Summary Table

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Race of Applicant (Race)	1.49	1	1.49	.25
Job Type (Job)	2.86	1	2.86	4.78*
Race x Job	.66	1	.66	1.10
Error	57.99	96	.60	

Table 8

Mean Competent Ratings as a Function of Race of Applicant and Job Type

Job Type	Race of Applicant	
	White	Asian American
Stereotypically White	5.10 (.86) (n=25)	5.31 (.75) (n=25)
Stereotypically Asian	4.76 (.68) (n=25)	5.11 (.75) (n=26)

Note. Numbers in a parenthesis is standard deviation.

ANOVA Summary Table

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Race of Applicant (Race)	1.99	1	1.99	3.42
Job Type (Job)	1.81	1	1.81	3.12*
Race x Job	.12	1	.12	.21
Error	56.43	97	.58	

Note: * p= .068

Table 9

Mean Likeability Ratings as a Function of Race of Applicant and Job Type

Job Type	Race of Applicant	
	White	Asian American
Stereotypically White	4.94 (.98) (n=25)	4.87 (.68) (n=25)
Stereotypically Asian	4.77 (.79) (n=25)	4.81 (.87) (n=26)

Note. Numbers in a parenthesis is standard deviation.

ANOVA Summary Table

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Race of Applicant (Race)	.00	1	.00	.01
Job Type (Job)	.34	1	.34	.49
Race x Job	.01	1	.01	.10
Error	67.66	97	.70	